

The

Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES C. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.

CANALIEL BAILEY, JR., Editors.

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POETRY.

For the Philanthropist.

"ETHIOPIA SHALL BE FREE."

Tell children, O Africa, how deep is their wrong!
How great is their suffering! their bondage how long!
But hast not said, for Jehovah hath spoken—
"Thy bonds shall be loosed"—thy shackles be broken.
"My ear—is it heavy? My eyes—have they slumber'd?
"Thy cries have been heard, and thy sighs have been num-
ber'd;
"For thy prayers and thy groans have ascended on high—
"And the hour of thy deliverance is fast drawing nigh."

For my country I weep—for our nation I tremble,
When I think in God's presence no flesh can dissemble:
That his wrath and his judgments will slumber no more—
Till tyranny ceases and oppression is o'er.
For the fist's gone forth, and will not return—
Till the tears are wiped dry from the captives that mourn—

Till the manacles fall from the Ethiop race,
And Justice and mercy blot out the disgrace.

A. L. B.

SLAVERY

SARAH GRIMKE.

EXTRACTS FROM HER EPISTLE TO THE SOUTHERN CLERGY

Mr. Chandler of Norfolk, in a speech in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the subject of negro slavery in 1832, speaking of our right to hold our colored brethren in bondage, says:

"As a Virginian, I do not question the master's title to his slave; but I put it to that gentleman, as a man, as a moral man, as a Christian man, whether he has not some doubts of his claim to his slaves, being as absolute and unqualified as that to other property. Let us in the investigation of this title go back to its origin—Whence came slaves into this country?—From Africa. Were they free men there? At one time they were. How came they to be converted into slaves?—By the stratagems of war and the strong arm of the conqueror; they were vanquished in battle, sold by the victorious party to the slave trader; who brought them to our shores, and disposed of them to the planters of Virginia. . . . The truth is, our ancestors had no title to this property, and we have acquired it only by legislative enactments."

Hear the testimony of James McDowell, in the House of Delegates, in Virginia in 1832.

"As to the idea that the slave in any considerable number of cases can be so attached to his master and his servitude, as to be indifferent to freedom, it is wholly unnatural, rejected by the conscious testimony of every man's heart, and the written testimony of the world's experience.

..... You may place the slave where you please, you may dry up to the uttermost the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thought, you may close upon his mind every avenue of knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night, you may yoke him to your labors as the ox which liveth only to work, you may put him under any process, which without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being, and the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his being, which oppression cannot reach; it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man."

As Southerners can we deny these things! As Christians, can we ask the blessing of the Redeemer of men on the system of American slavery? Can we carry it to the footstool of a God whose "compassions fail not," and pray for help to rivet the chains of interminable bondage on two MILLIONS of our fellow men, the accredited representatives of Jesus Christ? If we cannot ask in faith that the blessing of God may rest on this work of cruelty to the bodies, and destruction of the souls of men, we may be assured that his controversy is against it. Try it, my brethren when you are kneeling around the family altar with the wife of your bosom, with the children of your love when you are supplicating Him who hath made of one blood all nations, to sanctify these precious souls and prepare them for an inheritance with Jesus—then pray, if you can that God will grant you power to degrade to the level of brutes your colored brethren. Try it, when your little ones are twining their arms around your necks, and laying the first fond accents of affection in your ears; when the petition arises from the fulness of a parent's heart for a blessing on your children. At such a moment look in upon your slave. He too is a father, and we know that he is susceptible of all the tender sensibilities of a father's love. He holds his cherished infant in his arms, he feels his life-pulse thrice against his own, and he rejoices that he is a parent; but soon the withering thoughts rush to his mind—I am a slave, and to morrow my master may tear my darling from my arms. Contemplate this scene, while you shake yet your panting to perpetuate a system which is the slave's curse.

To live together, or together die,
By felon hands at the relentless stroke,
The fond links of feeling nature broke;
The bars twisting round a parent's heart,
Torn from their grasp and bleeding as they part."

"We have," says Mr. Berry, in a speech in the House of Delegates of Virginia in 1832, as far as possible closed every avenue by which light might enter their (the slaves) minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be safe. I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the necessary process, and that on the plea of necessity."

It is now twenty years since a beloved friend with whom I often mingled my tears, related to me the following circumstance, when helpless and hopeless we deplored the horrors of slavery, and I believe many are now doing what we did then, weeping and praying and interceding, "but secretly, for fear of the Jews." On the plantation adjoining his husband's, there was a slave of pre-eminent piety. His master was not a professor of religion, but the superior excellence of this disciple of Christ was not unmarked by him, and I believe he was so sensible of the good influence of his piety that he did not deprive him of the few religious privileges within his reach. A planter who was one day dining with the owner of this slave, and in the course of conversation observed that all profession of religion among slaves was mere hypocrisy. The other asserted a contrary opinion adding, I have a slave who I believe would rather die than deny his Saviour. This was ridiculed, and the master urged to prove his assertion. He accordingly sent for this man of God, and peremptorily ordered him to deny his belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. The slave pleaded to be excused, constantly affirming that he would rather die than deny the Redeemer, whose blood was shed for him. His master, after vainly trying to induce obedience by threats, had him severely whipped. The fortitude of the sufferer was not to be shaken; he had rejected the offer of exemption from further chastisement at the expense of destroying his soul, and this blessed martyr died in consequence of this severe infliction. Oh, how bright a gem will this victim of irresponsible power be, in that crowd which sparkles on the Redeemer's brow; and that many such will cluster there, I have not the shadow of a doubt."

Mr. Moore, in a speech in the House of Delegates in Virginia, in 1832, says:

"It is utterly impossible to avoid the consideration of the subject of slavery. As well might the Apostle have attempted to close his eyes against the light which shone upon him from heaven, or to turn a deaf ear to the name which reached him from on high as for us to try to stifle the spirit of inquiry which is abroad in the land.... The monstrous consequences which arise from the existence of slavery have been exposed to open day; the dangers arising from it stare us in the face, and it becomes us as men to meet and overcome them, rather than attempt to escape by evading them. Slavery, as it exists among us, may be regarded as the heaviest calamity which has ever befallen any portion of the human race. (If we look back at the long course of time which has elapsed from the creation to the present moment, we shall scarcely be able to point out a people whose situation was not in many respects preferable to our own, and that of the other states in which slavery exists. True, we shall see nations which have groaned under the yoke of despotism for hundreds and thousands of years, but the individuals composing those nations have enjoyed a degree of happiness, peace, and freedom from apprehension which the holders of slaves in this country can never know.)"

The daughters of Virginia have borne their testimony to the evils of slavery, and have pleaded for its extinction. Will this nation continue deaf to the voice of reason, humanity, and religion? In the memorial of the female citizens of Fluvanna Co., Va., to the General Assembly of that Commonwealth in 1832, they say:

"We cannot conceal from ourselves that an evil (slavery) is amongst us, which threatens to outgrow the growth, and dim the brightness of our national blessings. A shadow deepens over the land and casts its thickest gloom upon the sacred shrine of domestic bliss, darkening over us as time advances.

"We can only aid by ardent outpourings of the spirit of supplication at a throne of grace.... We conjure you by the sacred charities of kindred, by the solemn obligations of justice, by every consideration of domestic affection and patriotic duty, to nerve every faculty of your minds to the investigation of this important subject, and let not the united voices of your mothers, wives, daughters and kindred have sounded in your ears in vain."

"Since writing the above, I have received information that the perpetrators of this foul deed were in a state of inebriation, and that this martyr was an aged slave. Drunkenness instead of palliating crime aggravates it even according to human laws. But such are men in whose hands slavery often places absolute power."

A LAW OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
Passed December 17, 1834, entitled, "An act to amend the laws in relation to slaves and free persons of color."

SECTION 1. *Do it enacted by the Honorable the Senate, and the House of Representatives now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same;* If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall, for each and every offence against this act, be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or, if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars, at the discretion of magistrates and freeholders before which such free person of color is tried; and if a slave, shall be whipped at the discretion of the court not exceeding fifty lashes—the informer to be entitled to one half of the fine, and to be a competent witness; and if a free person of color or a slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction, for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment, as are by this section imposed in this respect from that of the British Parliament. They find, however, that undue and excessive valuations are alleged, on official authority, IN MARY INSTANT,

Sec. 2. If any person shall employ or keep as a clerk any slave or free person of color, or shall permit any slave or free person of color to act as a clerk or salesman, in or about any shop, store or house used for trading, such person shall be liable to be indicted therefore, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined for each and every offence, not exceeding one hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding six months; the informer to be a competent witness, and to be entitled to one half of the fine.

EMANCIPATION.

APPRENTICESHIP IN THE BRITISH COLO- NIES—OFFICIAL TESTIMONY.

The following needs no comment. The italicising is ours. The document is "The Report of a Select Committee of the British Parliament, appointed to inquire into the working of the Apprenticeship system in the Colonies, the condition of the Apprentices, and the laws and regulations affecting them." It is their opinion, given, not on *exparte* testimony, but on the testimony of all parties. And it shows conclusively that whoever else may be at fault in regard to the working of the apprenticeship,

THE APPRENTICES ARE NOT.—Ed Eman.

Your committee commenced their enquiry by examining the various enactments which have been passed in the colonies by the local Legislatures affecting the condition of the apprentices with a view to ascertain the manner in which the intentions of the Imperial Parliament, as expressed in the Act of Emancipation, have been carried into effect. They soon found, however, that it would be impossible for them to go through the whole subject in a satisfactory manner during the present session, and determined, therefore, to limit their investigation to Jamaica, in which colony alone they have obtained evidence sufficiently complete to fit them to submit to the House, or to justify them in expressing an opinion. After having attentively considered the objections which had been urged against the Jamaica Acts, your committee proceeded to obtain such information as was within their reach on the still more important questions connected with the practical operation and effects of the system of apprenticeship, which might serve to throw light upon the provisions of the laws which they had previously examined, or enable them to form a judgment of the present condition and future prospects of all classes of the inhabitants of the colony.

Upon the subject of the laws which have been passed in Jamaica affecting the apprentices, your committee have examined several gentlemen of the legal profession whose attention has been directed to them. A very full and minute examination of the objections which had been urged against them will be found in the appendix, especially in the evidence of Mr. Jeremie, a reply to which is contained in that of Burge, the agent for the island. With reference to this subject, your committee would also call your attention to the evidence of Sir George Grey, as affording an important addition to the information which has already been submitted to the House, of the views and conduct of the Colonial Office, and of the Governor of Jamaica in this respect.

Your Committee are not prepared to express an opinion upon all the points which have been made matter of controversy, some of which appear to rest upon legal difficulties of considerable intricacy. They conceive that they shall best discharge their duty by calling the attention of the House to such questions alone as seem to them to involve substantial and practical consequences, as well as important principles.

The chief objections which have been taken to Jamaica laws, which appear to your committee to require a more detailed notice, are the following:

1. The want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by the authority of the special magistrates on managers and on apprentices.

This objection, as far as regards the application, was noticed by Lord Stanley in a dispatch of the 20th February, 1834, commenting on the Jamaica Act, in which the following passage occurs:

"The 49th clause enables the special magistrate to impose fines upon the parties entitled to the services of any apprenticed laborer for any wrong or injury which he may sustain from such parties."

"The 68th clause directs that these fines shall be applied to the use of the public of the island. As the act has provided that the apprentice should compensate by labor the loss which his employer may sustain from indecision, neglect non-performance of work, or absence, it seems but reasonable that the special magistrate should have the power of compensating, out of the fine, the apprentice for the injury which he may have sustained from his employer; and I think that a clause should be introduced to that effect."

No such clause, however, was introduced into the subsequent Act passed by the Legislature of Jamaica, in pursuance of Lord Stanley's suggestions, and Lord Sligo appears to have concurred in the course adopted by the House of Assembly in reference to that subject.

Your committee are of opinion, that, in theory at least, the objection is well founded; and they are not aware of any satisfactory reason for the omission of the clause recommended by Lord Stanley. No evidence has, however, been submitted to them of practical evil having arisen from this defect, to warrant any further recommendation on this point.

2. The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom.

With reference to this objection, your committee feel themselves bound to state, that a serious obstacle appears to have arisen to the fair and equitable operation of the process of compulsory manumission. It was clearly the intention of the British Parliament that the apprentice should by law enjoy the right of having his services appraised at a fair value, at which he should be enabled to purchase his own freedom; nor can your committee suppose that the intention of the Jamaica Legislature differed in this respect from that of the British Parliament. They

CES TO HAVE OCCURRED; and they cannot but attribute this evil, in a great measure, to the constitution of the tribunal to which the valuation is by law confined and which appears to them to give an undue preponderance to colonial magistrates.

Although no valuation can take place in which the special magistrate does not concur, it is equally true that both or either of the colonial magistrates may, by adhering to a higher appraisal than that which the special magistrate thinks just, render the proceeding nugatory. They have reason, however, to believe, that the more common effect in such cases has been, that a value has been set upon the services of the apprentice by a compromise between the respective magistrates.

Your committee find that this subject has formed the topic of much correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor of Jamaica, by whom it was brought at an early period under the consideration of the Government. Instructions have consequently been at various times addressed to Lord Sligo, with a view to prevent the continuance of this evil; and he has recently been directed to suggest the Legislature of Jamaica such an alteration of the law as to calculate to place the constitution of the tribunal upon a satisfactory footing. Your committee cannot but express a confident hope that the Legislature of Jamaica will give a prompt attention to this recommendation, which your committee conceive that they are bound by good faith and every consideration of justice to carry into full effect.

3. The want of adequate protection to the special magistrates against vexatious prosecutions.

To the principle involved in this objection your committee attach the utmost importance. They are of opinion that the beneficial working of the present system, and the full protection of the rights of the apprentices, depend even more upon the administration of the law than on the provision of the law itself. They consider it of the greatest consequence that the independence of the special magistrates, in the discharge of their duty, should be effectively maintained; and that, while they are subject to a vigilant superintendence on the part of the executive Government, they should not be exposed to any well-founded apprehension of a want of due protection against vexatious prosecutions.

Two cases have been stated to your committee, in which actions of trespass have been brought against special magistrates for acts performed in their ministerial capacity, and damages were obtained; which, together with the costs of the action, it would be altogether beyond the means of the defendants to defray. In each case a new trial was expected to take place, and the final decision is not yet ascertained.

Your committee deem it right to observe, that, by an Act passed in Jamaica in 1834, usually termed the Act in Aid, a protection which was not comprised in the original Act was afforded to the Magistrates. This Act expired at the end of the year 1835, but has been subsequently re-enacted for a period co-extensive with the apprenticeship. The actions referred to were both tried during the interval when this Act was not in force, and its re-enactment may render it improbable that actions of a similar nature will hereafter be brought.

Your committee have ascertained the intentions of the Government in both of these cases, in the event of the verdicts being ultimately sustained; the result will be, the effectual protection of the individual defendants from eventual loss; but should there be any repetition of actions against special magistrates, not appearing to rest on a solid foundation, your committee cannot think that the evil would be fully met by any thing short of some legislative enactment which would secure any special magistrate acting bona fide in the discharge of his duty, from harassing and vexatious prosecutions.

The Governor of Jamaica has directed to bring this subject also under the consideration of the Legislature; and your committee abstain from any more specific recommendation on this point, in the hope that the measures already taken for the checking the evil may prove adequate to the attainment of the object.

4. It has been urged as an objection against the Jamaica law that it contains no enactment to regulate the distribution of the time which the apprentice is bound weekly to give his employer. The interpretation put upon the law in this respect, in Jamaica, negatived the presumption of the legal right on the part of the employer to exact from his apprentice continuous labor to an unreasonable extent, and in practice nine hours appears to be the utmost amount of labor to which the apprentices in Jamaica are subject in one day by compulsory process.

Whatever time they may give to their employer beyond this limit appears to be by arrangement, and for remuneration mutually agreed upon. It is however, universally admitted, that, subject to the qualification before adverted to, the employer has the legal right to appropriate the hours of labor; the result has been the want of uniformity in the distribution of the legal time. Two systems are prevalent in Jamaica, the one termed the nine-hour system by which the apprentices work nine hours a day for four days in the week, and four and a half on the fifth day, having the half of Friday and the whole of Saturday at his own disposal. The other is termed the eight-hour system, by which he works eight hours a day for four days in the week, and eight and a half on the fifth.

From the evidence which your committee have received on this subject there appears to be no doubt that the former system is very generally and decidedly preferred by the apprentices, as it leaves them a larger portion of time free from interruption at their own disposal, for the cultivation of their grounds, or for any other purpose. Your committee are convinced that that system must prove most conducive to the interests of the employers, which will secure the most cheerful acquiescence on the part of the apprentices; and they cannot but express their hope that Parliament may feel disposed to contribute, in future sessions, more liberally than they have already done, towards the attainment of this most pressing and momentous object.

Your committee have thus commented upon the principal points which have been brought before their notice, and upon a general review of the evidence which they have received, they conceive that they are warranted in expressing a belief that the system of apprenticeship in Jamaica is working in a manner not unfavorable to the most salutary change from slavery to freedom which is now alleged, on official authority, IN MARY INSTANT,

other allowances, by the Imperial Act, during the period of apprenticeship.

Although your committee do not feel warranted in putting this construction upon the Act, yet they conceive that it is to be regretted that these indulgencies should in any case be withheld, as long as the apprentice works in a proper manner for his employer, during the time which he is bound to give to him; unless, indeed, a compensation is given to him by an increased amount of wages, for the extra labor which he voluntarily undertakes to perform; a plan which seems to have been adopted by Mr. Shirley, upon his estate, with equal judgment and humanity. It appears to them that these indulgencies have been very generally continued to the apprentices upon the larger properties.

5. Your committee have felt it their duty to institute a strict inquiry into the alleged cases of corporal punishment inflicted on female apprentices. They found that this subject had engaged the close attention both of the local Government of Jamaica and of the Government in this country, and that measures had already been taken to prevent the recurrence of the violation of that most important enactment

ces of those evils which are scarcely separable from a state of society confessedly defective and anomalous, and which can only be defended as one of preparation and transition. But on the other hand, they see much reason to look forward with a confident hope to the result of this great experiment. In the evidence which they have received, they find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages whenever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is, indeed, fully proved that the labor, thus voluntarily performed by the negro, is more effective than that which was obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the period for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice. The mutual suspicion and irritation of the different classes of the community appear to be gradually subsiding; and, on the part of the negro population, industrious habits, and the desire of moral and physical improvement, seem to be gaining ground. Under these circumstances, your committee feel bound to express their conviction, that nothing could be more unfortunate than any occurrence which would have a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class with regard to the fixed determination of the Imperial Parliament to preserve inviolate both parts of the solemn engagement by which the services of the apprenticed laborer were secured to his employer for a definite period and under specified restrictions; at the expiration of which he is to be raised to a state of unqualified freedom, and to be governed by laws framed in all respects on the same principle as those to which his white fellow subjects are amenable.

Some of the objections taken to the Jamaica legislation have been satisfactorily explained by further evidence in the course of the investigation; and do not, therefore, appear to require any specific notice. Upon other points which have not been satisfactorily explained, your committee have omitted to animadvert, because they believe that the attention of the Colonial Office and of the Governor of the island has been, and they trust it will continue to be, steadily and unpremittingly directed to every part of the subject. In conclusion, your committee would observe that it appears to them to be most expedient that such enactments as are intended to come into operation after 1840, should, as much as possible, be delayed until that period shall arrive, and at all events be postponed until the time which more immediately precedes it.

August 13, 1836.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

"**The Right Remedy.**"—We frequently hear from many good brethren the remark, that whatever may be the evils of slavery, the way to remedy them is "to preach the gospel." In opposition to efforts made by anti-slavery societies and anti-slavery presses, they say, "If the gospel will not effect it (the abolition of slavery) we despair of any instrumentalities whatever."

We would respectfully ask these brethren what they mean by such remarks as these! We agree with them, most cordially, that the gospel of the son of God is the remedy for slavery. But how? They certainly will not say that it will prove this remedy as administered by those, their ministerial brethren, who maintain that the Bible sanctions slavery; makes it right, and places it on the same footing in its code of morals, as the domestic relations of husband and wife, parent and child! Not in such hands will the gospel prove a remedy for the evils of slavery.

But how much more good can it effect, when used by those who, notwithstanding they admit the remedy to be a good one, uniformly decline applying it, for fear of irritating their patients! How long will it take the gospel to work a cure, if it is never applied to the diseased part! Will these brethren tell us? They seem to imagine there is some power about the preaching of the gospel, that is to do away with slavery, while yet the authorized and accredited ministers of the gospel, never open their lips to declare that slavery is condemned by it. If they do not mean this, we should be glad to know what it is they mean, by their constantly repeating "the gospel is the remedy, the gospel is the remedy," while yet they are as constantly condemning the conduct of those who seek to make it the remedy indeed, by proclaiming it to be, in all its principles and precepts, opposed to slavery.

The Rev. JAMES DOUGLASS—whom we have known, and whom we highly respect as a devoted servant of Christ—in a communication to the Boston Recorder, which other eastern papers are copying, has much of this *indefiniteness* of view about the gospel proving a remedy for slavery. He would have anti-slavery men, instead of persisting in their present efforts to abolish slavery, send ministers to the south, to "preach the gospel," to both masters and slaves. For, says he, "where religion flourishes, slaves are well treated." Aye, there's the very point. And this, then, in all the gospel, as preached at the south, is able or expected to effect—the *good treatment* of the slave. Now we wish to aid in the preaching of no "gospel" whose ultimate aim, as it respects the slaves, goes no farther than this. The "gospel of the Son of God," requires not the "good treatment" of the black man as a "slave," but as a *man*, and a moral and accountable being; and the very first step in this good treatment is to *set him free*. Take an illustration of our meaning.

When the apostle Paul went into the Gentile world to "preach the gospel," he found all his hearers idolaters. He moreover found that in the practice of this idolatry, the most shameful rites abounded. The heathen of both sexes were accustomed to spend their nights in the temples of their idols, in promiscuous and most disgusting licentiousness. Now suppose he had commenced preaching the gospel to these polluted idolators in this way: "I will not, O men of Athens and Corinth, require too much of you at once. I will say nothing of the divine honors you pay to Jupiter, and Mars, and Mercury, and Venus, and your other innumerable gods and goddesses; but I do require in the name of my Master, that, when you do worship these deities, and especially the latter, you should do it in a more respectful and decent manner. If you will cease these your midnight orgies in the temples of your gods, and prosecute their worship no farther than to offer them early libations, and to prostrate yourselves before their images, it is, I think, all the gospel requires of you at present. And for the rest, if indeed this be not sufficient, I leave you to learn it from my successor, Timothy." And thus had the apostle Paul understood the "preaching of the gospel," to many of his modern successors seem to do. Christ would have died, not to *abolish* slavery, but to "remedy its evils," and thus make it removable! At least, this could have been the only result for two or three centuries after his departure from the world. If it be said that because we cannot abolish slavery at once, that is no good reason why we should not postpone to do so as far as in us lies, endeavor to effect the mitigation of the condition of slaves as slaves, we admit the correctness of the remark. When Paul was preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, he would undoubtedly be glad to see the heathen quitting their licentious practices, even though they did not go so far as to abandon their idols. This was so much good effected; and as we are glad to see slave-holders treating their slaves with kindness, teaching them to read the bible, (which however they hardly ever do,) sending them to the Sabbath school and the church. But what we are protesting against is, the idea that the gospel is satisfied and its precepts fulfilled, when these things, and only these, are done. If you rob a man of ten dollars, it is better you should spend the money in disseminating copies of the Bible than of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*; but doing the former will no more justify the original theft than the latter. The gospel has no method of teaching the robber how to dispose of the avails of his violence so as that he may retain them without sin. It has, and can have, but one precept in the case—"Restore what thou hast wickedly taken." So if the gospel is to be preached to the masters of slaves, all it can say is, "restore the slave to himself; give him back those rights which belong to him as he is *MAN*, and which cannot be taken away without robbing both him and his Gov."—*Ill. Observer.*

Call to Exertion.

Did any one ever reckon up the probable cost of the ark in which Noah and his family were preserved? How many men must have been employed in building it?—What an enormous expenditure! And it all appears to have been sustained by one man. Suppose he had concluded the expense greater than he could afford. He had a large family to maintain. No doubt he had fashionable neighbors, who furnished their houses in style. And then, how proper that Shem, Ham, Japhet, and all their children, should be left rich! What will become of our modern Noahs, when the flood rises—when "*THE CRISIS*" comes? Abolitionists go to their farms and their merchandise. One brother cannot throw his time and talents into the field, because he is too poor, and must work in a more lucrative calling to pay his debts. He lights upon some fortunate "speculation" and becomes rich. Do you now hear of his consecrating himself to the work? Another brother has labored a year or two—finds the work laborious—the perils increasing—the sacrifice a great one. He looks around, and sees many who ought to be laboring at his side. It is their turn now. He has done his part.—Sodom, indeed sleeps, and clouds are gathering. But he has done his part, and lies down. Another brother's help is greatly needed, but the votaries of mammon will pay him three or four hundred dollars a year more for his services to help them get rich, than would be seemly for an advocate of bleeding humanity to receive. He, too, has a family, and holds it a first duty to lay up treasures for them, to be swept away in the coming flood! The group thickens—a thousand thoughts rush in—objections and questions demand attention. But the eye is pained—the time is flown. *The crisis hastens!* wake reader! wake now!—*Friend of Man.*

Remarks of Henry B. Stanton.

In the Representatives' Hall, on the 23d and 24th of February, before the Committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, to whom were referred sundry memorials on the subject of slavery.

First. Has Congress power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia?

My excuse for discussing this branch of the inquiry, is—1. It is the hinge upon which all the questions of duty and expediency here at issue, turn. 2. The power of Congress to do this, is now extensively denied. Statesmen and politicians, not only at the South, but at the north, are striving by some process, to make themselves believe against their better judgment, that, despite the relations of husband and wife, parent and child! Not in such hands will the gospel prove a remedy for the evils of slavery.

But how much more good can it effect, when used by those who, notwithstanding they admit the remedy to be a good one, uniformly decline applying it, for fear of irritating their patients! How long will it take the gospel to work a cure, if it is never applied to the diseased part!

I boldly assume the position that Congress has this power.

1. Permit me to trouble the committee with some historical proof.

This power has always been admitted till recently.

(4.) Hon. Joel B. Sutherland, in a speech on the floor of Congress, in April 1836, said, "Such a right [right to legislate on the subject of slavery in the District] has never been till recently denied.

(2.) The American Quarterly Review, published at Philadelphia, said, about a year since, "It would hardly be necessary to state this as a distinct proposition, [the power of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District] had it not been occasionally questioned. The truth of the assertion, however, is too obvious to admit of argument, and we believe has never been disputed by persons who are familiar with the Constitution." The high reputation of this periodical is well known to the committee.

(3.) In January, 1802, the Grand Jury of Alexandria, in the District, asked Congress for "legislative redress."

(4.) In March, 1816, the House of Representatives, on motion of the Hon. John Randolph of Virginia, "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of an inhuman and illegal traffic of slaves, carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and to report whether and what measures are necessary to put a stop to the same."

(5.) In March, 1827, eleven hundred citizens of the District petitioned Congress for the abolition of the slave trade, and for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District.

(6.) In 1826, the political press in the District urged the recession of the District back to Maryland and Virginia, on the ground that Congress possessed the power to abolish slavery in the District, and might be induced to exercise it.

(7.) On the 12th December, 1827, a memorial was presented by Hon. Mr. Barney, of Maryland, on the subject of slavery in the District, and was laid on the table and ordered to be printed.—Hon. George M'Duffie objected to its being printed, but expressly admitted the right of Congress "to grant to the people of the District any measures, which they may deem necessary to free themselves from this deplorable evil."

(8.) In 1828, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, by an almost unanimous vote, adopted a resolution, requesting their senators to "procure, if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."

(9.) In January, 1829, the House of Representatives of the U. S. by a large majority, instructed the committee on the District, "to inquire into the expediency [not the power] of providing by law, for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District." How nobly Mr. Chairman does this resolution contrast with those adopted by the House last session, with the foggy and disgraceful report of Mr. Pinckney's, with the unconstitutional resolution of the 18th of January last, and the insane conduct of the House under that resolution! Who will dare to deny that in seven years, the cause of human freedom in this country has *fervently retrograded*? But to return to our proposed and *most important* subject—

(10.) In January, 1829, the Assembly of New York adopted a resolution, instructing their senators, and requesting their representatives, "to make every possible exertion to effect the passage of a law, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

(11.) On December 13, 1831, Hon. Mr. Adams presented a resolution, instructing their senators, and requesting their representatives, "to make every possible exertion to effect the passage of a law, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

(12.) The *Philadelphia National Enquirer*, composed entirely of slaveholders, The committee

reported that, "until the adjoining States act on the subject it would be [NOT UNCONSTITUTIONAL, but] unwise and unpolitic, if not unjust, for Congress to interfere."

(13.) Mr. Van Buren admits the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, in a letter last year, to a gentleman in North Carolina.

(13.) Pinckney's celebrated report is compelled to concede the power to Congress.

(14.) The Legislature of Vermont, at its late session, passed a resolution, declaring that Congress had this power.

(15.) Mr. May's resolutions recently introduced into the Virginia Legislature, proposing certain amendments to the U. S. States' Constitution, implicitly admit the same.

But, sir, it cannot be necessary to multiply historical proofs, though I have more at hand. I have been thus wearisome in my details, that I might show:

1. That the great mass at the north have conceded this right, as well as very many at the south. And now, if Congress does not possess this power, how came it to be almost universally conceded, from the adoption of the constitution onward nearly forty years? 2. That abolitionists are not the only "agitators" of this question, but that State Legislatures, Congress, and even the people of the District themselves, have been, the leaders of this work.

Dissolution of the Union.

On this point we beg leave to introduce the following extract from a late speech of Mr. Burleigh at the Pennsylvania A. S. Convention.

"But the Union will be dissolved, if you persist in agitating this subject. The South has already threatened to secede, unless we let it alone.

This is no new threat. We have heard it so long and often, that we begin to doubt its sincerity. I have in an old paper of 1807, an extract from a speech of John Randolph of Roanoke, in which he threatens that if the bill abolishing the slave trade should ever go into effect, the South will secede, and expresses a belief that not a southern member will ever again take a seat on that floor. But the slave trade was abolished and the South remains part of the nation, John Randolph duly resumed his seat in Congress, as its sessions came round, and continued to abuse by his eccentricities, and by his sagacious remarks to instruct the members of that body, till removed to another station of official trust; and his prediction in regard to the course of the southern members has been falsified by the event, unless we receive it in its literal sense. I need not say how many times the threat has been repeated since, or how ready a resort it is, whenever the South desires to frighten the North into concessions. But really it cannot be thought strange, if we should by this time feel disposed to pay very little regard to it. "John," said a mother to her offending child, "I shall certainly whip you for that." "No you will not," replies the boy. "How do you know I shall not?" "Because you have told me you would a hundred times, but never did."

From the Friend of Man.

Abolitionism as a Religious Tenet.

It is a matter of no small importance to be remembered, in this community, that **ABOLITIONISM**, whether right or wrong, has been held by its adherents, both in this country and in England, as a cardinal tenet of their **RELIGION**. It is necessarily so, because they have always opposed slavery as a sin against God, against which all men are under the most solemn obligations of religion to bear testimony. As a tenet of religion, abolitionism has, long ago, become incorporated into the religious creeds of several prominent Christian Sects. The Society of Friends and Reformed Presbyterians have long held it as a primary article of their faith. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, enjoined it, as a matter of faith and practice, as fully as he enjoined any thing else. The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in America, until within a short period, have contained the doctrines of abolitionism as a part of their religious faith; nor are they, even yet, entirely divested of these sentiments. Within a short time, the Legislature of New Hampshire adopted measures against the Free-will Baptists, as a denomination, upon the openly alleged ground that abolitionism was a part of the religion of that sect. And it has recently been decided, in the courts, in the State of New York, that *abolition* meetings are religious meetings, and as such, entitled to the protection of the statute enacted for preventing the disturbance of religious meetings. It may likewise be observed, that commentators upon the Bible, and writers upon Christian ethics, have often incorporated the doctrines of abolitionism into their religious works, and almost universally given their religious views of the subject, either pro or con. The defenders, as well as the opponents of slavery, are accustomed to resort to the Bible, and this proves that abolitionism, whether a heresy or an orthodox tenet, is held as a religious tenet, and as such, is both defended and assailed by the weapons of theological disputation. The action of Christian judicatories and churches, on both sides of the controverted question, at the South as well as at the North, bear testimony that the question of abolitionism is a question of religious faith. It is not on this account, mainly, that such men as Judge Eldridge, if we can understand their logic, object to the anti-slavery movements. They complain that the public quiet is disturbed by the agitation of controversial religious opinions. The very epithet of "fanatics," applied by British Lords to Wilberforce and Clarkson, and by American politicians to prominent abolitionists in this country, bears testimony to the fact that abolitionists have always been considered by their opponents as "enthusiasts" in their religious views; for these epithets are only applied to persons accused of religious extravagances and errors.

Facts, incontrovertible, which have come to the knowledge of your memorialists, warrant the belief that the insurrection in Texas has been aided by citizens in these United States. That its main object—the grand cause of the movement, as evinced by the sentiments and conduct of its advocates, and by the very condition of their assembled Government, is the **RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY**—the re-opening of an immense Slave Market—to set up anew the shambles for human flesh where the abhorrent traffic had been arrested and abolished by the legitimate authorities of Mexico—and finally, to annex the territory to the United States—from a regard to the national honor—for the character of the age in which we live—for their obligations to posterity—and above all, to the God of justice, your memorialists, in behalf of themselves, of the thousands whom they represent, and of the principles long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania; in the name of liberty, justice and humanity, enter their solemn and united protest.

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Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly entreat your honorable body, to reject the proposition

for the recognition of the Government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas, as well as all attempts that may be made to connect it with the United States. And as in duty bound, &c.

Signed in and on behalf of the Convention,

JULIUS LEXON, President.

From the Philadelphia "National Enquirer."

Recognition of the Independence of Texas.

"Bring me no more reports"

"My ear is pained."

"My soul is sick with every day's report."

"Of wrong and outrage."

The deed is done! Notwithstanding all that has been said, and written, and printed; notwithstanding it has been clearly proven that the Declaration of Independence in Texas was the work of a *lawless, marauding bandit* from the United States; notwithstanding this was known to the government, and the great mass of the people of this Union; and although a majority of our senators in Congress were thoroughly impressed with the truth of this, and were decidedly opposed to the recognition of the sovereignty of the **PIRATE POWER**; yet, in the face

of another portion condemns it. A law for suppressing **abolitionism**, is a law for punishing **heresy**. By enacting it, the **State establishes a slaveholding religion**, and forbids the free exercise and profession of a religion which **condemns Slavery**—a religion which recognizes **human rights**, and asserts the **liberty of the people**!

POLITICAL.

Van Buren's Inaugural.

From the *Plaindealer*—*an Administration Paper.*

Mr. Van Buren's indecent haste to avow his predilection on the subject of slavery has not even the merit of boldness. It is made in a cringing spirit of propitiation to the South, and in the certainty that the majority at the South agree with his views. His sentiments on the subject of slavery, so far as it can become a question for federal legislation, were well understood before. They had been distinctly expressed, and he had been supported with a clear knowledge of his opinions on that subject, and a clear apprehension of what would be his course, should executive action become necessary.

There was not the slightest occasion, therefore, for any thing beyond a calm repetition of his previously expressed sentiments. The veto pledge is the peace-offering of an ignoble spirit to appease the exasperated slaveholders at the South. What a mockery it would now be, if, in the course of the next four years, such a change should take place in the public mind, (and such a change is altogether within the scope of possibility) as that a large majority of the people should demand the abolition of slavery at the seat of the federal government, and Congress, in

all this, our honest citizens have been deceived and betrayed by their representatives! the *Slaveholding Usurpers* have carried their point!! the nation is committed in support of their monstrous crime, disgraced in the eyes of the world, and subjected to the vengeance of unerring justice!!!

Our paper of last week had just gone to press, when the surprising news was received, that the Senate of the United States had passed Walker's resolutions, acknowledging the *Independence of Texas*, by a vote of 23 to 19! Every item of previous information from Washington had led to an opposite conclusion. It was well understood that a plurality of the senators were opposed to the measure. And yet, when it came to a decision, it resulted as above mentioned!

But in what manner did the despotic usurpers thus contrive to over-reach the opponents of their unhallowed scheme? Why, simply, by *stealing a march upon them*, while they were asleep? **No, WHILE THEY WERE AT DINNER!!!**

Even such a veteran statesman, such a long-tried and faithful sentinel as DANIEL WEBSTER, was found napping, or lounging away from his post at so important a moment! According to a published statement of the proceedings, he, with several other members who were opposed to the resolution, "had not returned from dinner" when the vote was taken. True, they subsequently moved a reconsideration, but then, as time had been given to make a "dough face" or two, the vote resulted in a *tie*, and consequently the motion was lost.

And it has ever been thus! The slaveholders have always ruled, and carried every measure they wished, through the negligent supineness or the political divisions among the advocates of freedom and justice. The burning rebuke of John Randolph applies, with ten-fold force, in each succeeding collision between them. That sarcastic champion of slaveholding aristocracy told the northern politicians, long since, that they were all "afraid of their own dough-faces," and that as many of them might be mouléd to south patterns, at any purpose. Events have, so far, proved that he was correct, and it remains, to be seen, whether this state of things is to continue in all future time, or whether the PEOPLE of the non-slaveholding states will take the matter in hand, and inspire their representatives with political honesty, and courage, and firmness, for the faithful discharge of their solemn duties.

The deed is done! So far as the accrediting of TWO Ministers Plenipotentiary from the *Pirate Government*, and the appointment of a Charge d'Affairs to it by our own, can sanction the monstrous scheme of national mandating and national aggrandizement, *it is done!!* The second grand step is now taken by the *slave holding party*, which has most effectually exercised its malignant influence over our government, for the robbery and dismemberment of the Mexican Republic. The next, and final step, will be an application to Congress for the annexation of the territory to the United States. This will be done, the first moment that an opportunity is presented. **PEOPLE OF THE NORTH! WILL YOU PERMIT IT?** Will you sanction the abominable outrage; involve yourselves in the deep criminality, and perhaps the horrors of war, FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SLAVERY IN A LAND OF FREEDOM; and thus put your necks and the necks of your posterity under the feet of the domineering tyrants of the South, for centuries to come? The great moral and political campaign is now fairly opened. Your Government has fully espoused the cause of these land-pirates and freebooters. Can you, we repeat, still remain silent, and thus lend your sanction to the unparalleled and Heaven-daring aggression? We wait your response; and trust it will come in the loudest tones of a thundering NEGATIVE, resounding o'er your granite mountains, and echoing through every vale north of "Mason and Dixon's Line."

We have warned you, again and again, of the machinations, and the wicked aggressive policy of the despotic SLAVEHOLDING PARTY. We have unfolded its marauding designs, and pointed out its varied plans and movements. You would not listen to our earnest entreaties or admonitions. You have slumbered in the arms of political harlots, until they have nearly shorn you of your locks, and bound you with the bloody cords prepared by this Philistine horde of tyrannical desperadoes. Arise! ARISE QUICKLY! and burst these bands, or your doom, with that of your posterity, is sealed perhaps forever!!!

Mr. Webster's Sentiments about Texas.

On the subject of Texas, while he rejoiced at its probable independence and the prospect of its being recognized by this Government, he considered that "there was an insuperable objection against Texas being annexed to the slaveholding states. He could consent to nothing which would extend the Slavery of the African race upon this continent. The Constitution made by the then thirteen United States has been effected by a compromise. Some of those states were free, and some of them slave holding States. He wished to keep that compact to the letter, neither to alter or modify it, nor expunge it; [a laugh] he wished to allow the original parties in the concern all the privileges, profits and advantages, which they had contracted for, but if he were asked to admit new partners into the firm, he must first know on what terms they were to enter it, and who they were to bring along with them."

Mr. Webster's sentiments on each and all of the subjects which he reviewed were warmly responded to by the meeting, which repeatedly testified its approbation by the most enthusiastic cheer.

From the National Enquirer.

Political Action.

In laying the following communication before our readers, we intend to accompany it with some remark, but are under the necessity of deferring them till next week. The writer is one of those who depends more upon practice than profession—more upon efficient action, than intangible, windy recommendation. While we are calling upon Hercules, he urges the propriety of putting our shoulders to the wheel, and also of applying a lever of adequate strength. Whether his views are strictly correct or not, we must have more POLITICAL ACTION.

To the Friends of Abolition.

This is a dark, a dreary day, for the cause of Freedom. Clouds of opposition threaten around us. Martin Van Buren, at the head of the Federal Government, has arrayed himself against us; of course, his partisans must follow suit. Whether the Whigs and Anti-Masons will trample beneath his mandate, or whether they will nobly dare to stem the storm with us, remains to be seen. If they join with him, then they are no longer "Whigs," and "Anti-Masons," but *Van Buren men*; and in that case their party is done up—it is out generalized by this prince of *minnows* and the loaves and fishes will fall to the lot of Van Buren and his followers. If, however, they rally on the side of truth and justice, there will be enough of us, to give their ticket the majority.

Our numbers and influence are such, in the present state of parties, that if united and determined among ourselves we can wield the balance of power in this

State. Those who speak of us as "band of fanatics"—"an insignificant number of mad-caps," &c., have reckoned without their host. If every Abolitionist in Pennsylvania will be careful not to vote for any but abolition men, we shall see such a somerset in politics as was never seen before; or else we shall see Martin Van Buren and his host of "Ins" transformed or reformed into "Outs," and the power which shall then be, will not dare to spurn the positions of the people. We have a large majority of women on the side of abolition, and that is one half of the battle—we have nearly all the youth, and that is the other half. Therefore, it only remains for us to come out boldly, and assert our rights by means of the ballot boxes, next October, and we shall soon have a change for the better.

Where is the use of petitioning men who are determined not to hear? How much better would it be to elect men who will not need to be petitioned to do what is right?

If we, by uniting together, can wield the balance of power in Pennsylvania, who will hold the balance of power in the U. States? In the present ratio of population, it is so plain as not to need an answer—it speaks for itself. Had the thirty electors of Pennsylvania gone against M. Van Buren, it would have made a difference in the result of sixty votes; of course he would not have been elected President.

There never was a time when the abolitionists had a better opportunity of saying to the "dark spirit of slavery" "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." All that is wanted, is unity of action—we have harmony of sentiment and feeling. Let us then organize, and try our strength at the ballot boxes—not as a distinct party, but as the preponderating weight, which shall be the means, under Providence, of saving our country.

Numerous Ward Anti-Slavery Societies are forming in this City and Liberties, in conformity with the recommendations of the Harrisburgh Convention. Let all the other Wards, Townships, and Districts throughout the State, "immediately," organize Anti-Slavery Societies and appoint delegates to their County Societies; and these County Societies appoint delegates to the State Society, and forward a list to the Executive Committee, of all the Societies thus formed; and the work will soon be accomplished.

MENTOR.

*We like the word *immediately*, it means something—it means that we can do, and by the blessing of Heaven we will do something for the good cause. Therefore, let every "immediate" emancipationist immediately join the anti-slavery society in his ward, or township, or if there be none formed, let him immediately set about forming one.

MISCELLANEOUS.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the country are reminded of the anniversary of the Parent Society in May. It is time local societies were thinking at least about their delegates. Arrangements should be made, and made in season to secure a large attendance. It will be one of the most important meetings the society has ever held. Two distinguished friends of the cause from England, Messrs. Scoble and Sturge, now in the West Indies, are expected to be present.

CONVENTION OF LADIES, is also to be held in the city, the same week. Female Anti-slavery Societies, generally, are requested to send delegates, and individuals of kindred feelings and principles, who may reside in places where no such societies exist, are invited to attend and participate in the deliberations and proceedings of the convention.

To Auxiliaries—Important.

The following resolution was passed at the last annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society:

Resolved, That each Anti-Slavery Society, which shall send delegates to the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, or be auxiliary thereto, be requested to make a full report of its origin, progress, numbers, and of the means employed in the way of agents, printed documents, &c., for the advancement of the great cause of human freedom in the United States; and inspired our fathers with the lofty faith which nerve them for their wilderness work; that the right is inexpressibly dear to every republican, and is never to be surrendered to the boisterous violence of an aristocratic mob, or to the executive threat of *indictment at common law*.

Party-men had better look about them. In a very little while, a declaration of adhesion to such principles as are embraced in the above resolution, will be demanded from every candidate for office.

forthwith Memorialize the Assembly on the subject and instruct their delegates accordingly. It is time the Presbyterian church, as well as others, had washed her hands in respect to this matter. Her ancient testimony should be revived, and the position should be taken boldly that slaveholding is inconsistent with a standing in the church or ministry. No matter what other subjects may come up, how important they may be. None can be more important, and none can be allowed to take precedence of this. It is more important than fifty Barnes or Beecher's cases. And no friend of the slave, no friend of two millions in our own land without the bible, no friend of freedom and true religion, can allow this subject to receive the go-by, as it did at the last assembly, without proving false to the slave, to the best interests of the church, to religion and to God.—*Emancipator.*

The Anti-Slavery Rooms.—Our neighbors of the New York Observer have let to the committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society a most commodious suite of rooms, in their building, No. 143 Nassau street. On the first floor are three apartments. The first is occupied as a publishing and sales office, the next a reading and news room, where all the recent intelligence affecting the cause will be presented; and the inner rooms used for mailing papers, and other labors connected with their extensive operations. Above is a convenient room for the use of the secretaries and for meetings of committees. "Times is changed," at least in the way of trade.—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

A Fact.

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention at Harrisburg, the following note was handed to Mr. Burleigh, with a responsible name attached.

"Sir.—Mr. Washington Barr, of this place, received a letter some few days ago, which he holds in his possession from a gentleman in Virginia, offering him a reward of \$200, to apprehend his slave, supposed to be in this place stating that he had one of his ears cut off to mark him. Any person doubting this fact, may refer to Mr. Barr, who is well known in this place."

Fruits of Slavery.

A writer in the Alton Observer, advocating colonization incidentally makes the following statement:

"It may not be unimportant or uninteresting to know, that in consequence of slavery existing in Kentucky and Tennessee, the white non-slaveholding portion of the community are leaving there for a residence in this beautiful state. For it is a fact, that the poorest of those hands can obtain here 75 cents for a day's labor, with board and lodging; while in their own states no more than 31 1/4 cents can be got for the best of hands. This I have stated to show the evils resulting to the white [free] portion of society by employing slaves to do the work of freemen."

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, APRIL 28, 1837.

Both of the Editors being absent from the city, attending the Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, the Philanthropist, for one or two weeks, will be made up chiefly of selections from other papers. We have several communications on file, some of which have been long delayed for want of room, but shall appear in due time.—Ed. ad interim.

Spirit of Freedom.

At an adjourned Convention of the Democratic members of the Massachusetts Legislature, March 24th, the following spirited resolution, among several others was adopted.

Resolved, That freedom of speech and of private judgment, freedom of mind in the inquiry after truth, freedom of the press for avowing every honest conviction, is the inalienable birth-right of every being endowed with reason; a right never to be surrendered and never to be impaired; a right guaranteed to us by the institutions which we have inherited; a right asserted by the noblest instincts of our nature; that this principle is the fountain-head of modern liberty; that it gave birth to the reformations, and inspired our fathers with the lofty faith which nerve them for their wilderness work; that the right is inexpressibly dear to every republican, and is never to be surrendered to the boisterous violence of an aristocratic mob, or to the executive threat of *indictment at common law*.

Resolved, That the question of making slave holding a disqualification for communion or ministerial fellowship, ought to be left to each Presbytery and Session to decide in each particular case that may arise for their adjudication according to the circumstances which may attend it.

tinuing for four or five successive evenings. Distinguished abolitionists were present, and their peculiar doctrines were amply discussed. Of the result we are not yet informed.

Refining Influence of Slaveholding.

Our readers have doubtless perused with pleasure the letters of John Quincy Adams to his constituents, republished in this paper. On our first page will be found another, no less interesting than the former ones.* They are all distinguished by their simplicity, candor, fullness of information concerning the pro-slavery proceedings in Congress, and especially by the absence of passion or acrimonious feeling. Hear in what courteous terms slaveholders speak of this intrepid defender of the rights of man. Messrs. Claiborne and Gholson, members of the last Congress from Mississippi, in a letter to their constituents, dated Washington Feb. 14, 1837, use the following language, as quoted in the *Emancipator*:

"Mr. Adams has been President of the United States, and however low in the scale of degradation, disappointed ambition and the spirit of revenge may have reduced him, yet language appropriate to others, who might endeavor to sap the foundations of our institutions [slavery] and sever the Union, may not be applied to him. He is sunk beneath reproach, and his late wicked attempt has withdrawn him with scorn to worse than a cypher; he stands alone, and is incapable of further mischief. This is not declamation, but a melancholy truth; Mr. Adams is to day as odious as a traitor; he is the sole author of his own disgrace, and a signal warning to the age in which he lives, of fallen greatness, blasted hopes and overthrown ambition, brought about by reckless and unprincipled conduct as a public man. We hope the lesson may sink deep into the hearts of his countrymen, and that he may be the last who shall plot the severance of the Union by an attempt to set the slaves of the South in array against their masters as petitioners for their freedom, to Congress. If this was not treason in name, it was treason in fact; and it has met its reward!—if not in a traitor's grave, a traitor's infamy!"

***This article was intended for the last number, to which the reader is referred for the letter of Mr. Adams alluded to.**

Resolutions of the Cincinnati Presbytery on Slavery.

As the subject of slavery has been presented to our consideration by a letter from the Presbytery of Chillicothe, and the state of public feeling demands an expression of our views on this important subject, therefore:

Resolved, That the buying, selling, or holding men as property for the sake of gain is a flagrant sin, and ought to be instantly abandoned by all.

Resolved, That while we believe the system of Slavery to be sinful and its removal, in a proper manner, that which every Christian ought earnestly to pray and labor for, yet as it has existed so long and become connected with so many and wide spreading interests and has been incorporated into the political system of many states, the greatest patience, and forbearance, and meekness, and humility are demanded in all those who make efforts to effect its removal and an entire abstinenace from all sensuousness and invective against any who may differ from them in their views of the best mode for its extermination.

Resolved, That we do especially reprobate in unchristian and unchristian, the use of all harsh and abusive epithets towards those in the slave states, who have, many of them, without their own consent, been brought into the relation of a master to slaves, and that we are willing to extend to them in their efforts to free themselves from this evil all the assistance which prayerful and affectionate cooperation can afford.

Resolved, That the question of making slave holding a disqualification for communion or ministerial fellowship, ought to be left to each Presbytery and Session to decide in each particular case that may arise for their adjudication according to the circumstances which may attend it.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Extract of a Letter from a Northern State.

The cause is making rapid and sure progress in this state. Our fathers in the ministry are beginning to come up to the work and to give it the benefit of their wisdom and prayers. Many ministers who have not yet joined any society preach plainly on the subject and the feeling is fast gaining ground among Christians and all sober people that this is the best way to cure mistakes of Anti-Slavery organizations is not to find fault with them at a distance, but to join at once and correct them. All must see that this is a very simple and effectual remedy. There is also a great increase of Christian feeling on this subject.

Many an eye is bedimmed with tears of sympathy for the suffering slave, and from thousands of families scattered over the hills and valleys of our free and happy New England, goes up, morning and evening, sincere prayer to God, in behalf of our degraded and bleeding brethren. A tide of feeling is raising up against this system, the distant murmur of which even now breaks upon the ears of our slave holding brethren, and will long pour forth its healing treams of mercy before which every wreck of tyranny shall disappear from our land.

There is an increasing interest in the Seminary, and an Anti-Slavery influence is making silent but certain progress among us. I should think more than half of the Seminary are abolitionists.

Wishing you much success in the department of labor to which you are called, I remain, &c.

Peru Anti-Slavery Society.

The Peru Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the Delco. A. S. S., was organized the 8th of 3d mo. 1837. No. of members 106.

Officers:

Shadrack Hubbell, President.

Liston A. Houston, Vice President.

William Grisell, Secretary.

At a meeting of the above named Society, held April 1st, 1837. Wm. Grisell and L. A. Houston were appointed delegates to attend the annual convention of the O. A. S. S. to be held at Mt. Pleasant O.

The following resolutions were submitted and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we believe immediate emancipation not only safe and expedient, but pre-eminently calculated to better the condition of the slave and the slave-holders; and that it is strictly enjoined by the Law of God, and in accordance with every principle of justice and mercy.

Resolved, That we regard the co-operation of our transatlantic brethren in this great work as a blessing, and particularly calculated to aid in its accomplishment.

Resolved, That we consider the use of the products of Slavery as a means of perpetuating the system, and that we will encourage the introduction of the produce of free labor amongst us, and discourage as far as possible the use of all other.

Resolved, That this Society will patronize "The Phi-

lanthropist," and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the Editors of that paper for publication.

SHADRACH HUBBELL, Pres.

Wm. GRISELL Secretary.

The Cardington A. S. Society.

The Cardington Anti-Slavery Society auxiliary to the O. A. S. S. was formed at Cardington, Marion co., O. April 7th, 1837, and numbers rising 30 members, with flattering prospects of increase. Officers for the ensuing year are:

Abner Wing, President.

SPRINT OF FREEDOM.

HOW MOBS MAY BE PUT DOWN.

We make no apology for publishing the whole of the following article concerning the recent mob in Boston against Mr. Graham. It will serve as a good lesson to magistrates. It shows in a striking light how noble it is to stand up in the hour of danger for the maintenance of our rights, and it demonstrates how easily a mob may be baffled by a little firmness on the part of the orderly citizens. There are individuals in this city, who may derive many useful hints from this article.—Eds. Phil.

The celebrated Mr. Graham has recently delivered a series of lectures to the young men in Boston, upon the subject of matrimony, &c. Notice was then given that he would deliver a course of lectures, public to females only. The terms of admission were 50 cents each. One or more of the lectures having been delivered, a large number of females assembled in the Armory Hall, to hear the continuation of the series. The object of the meeting being made known, a mob collected and proceeded to such acts of violence that the ladies were dispersed and the lecture prevented. The following, which took place subsequently to this outrage, we copy from one of the Boston papers. The spirit which it evinces, is highly worthy of commendation.

"After the dispersion of the ladies' meeting in Armory Hall, Mr. William Sears, a true-hearted mechanic, worthy of the days of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, and Roger Sherman, offered the Hall of the Marlboro' Hotel, (which is his property,) for the accommodation of Mr. Graham, and his patrons. This fact reached the ears of our vigilant Mayor, excited much disquietude in his breast, and deeply afflited the Board of Aldermen!

On the morning of the day of the meeting, the City Marshal waited on Mr. Sears, and inquired if Mr. Graham contemplated giving a lecture to the ladies in the afternoon. Mr. Sears replied in the affirmative, adding, that he had offered the use of his hall to the ladies, because they were driven out from all quarters. The Marshal then said, that no person of reason or prudence would permit such a man as Graham to occupy a place of any value, for it was certain that THE PUBLIC WILL NOT ALLOW IT, as they were so indignant, nor would it be right for him to lecture, inasmuch as the public feeling was altogether against him! Mr. Sears replied, that he was in favor of freedom of speech; and if the time had come to decide the question, whether that freedom could be maintained, he was ready to meet it on the subject of Grahamism, as on any other reform of the day. Well, said the Marshal, YOUR HOTEL WILL BE TORN DOWN TO THE GROUND, most likely!

6. Observe the friendly anxiety of the City Marshal. Mr. Sears might suffer injury in his property. In his opinion, it was cheaper to crucify the freedom of speech! A glaring miscalculation.

7. Observe again, that a show of authority was made to suppress the threatened disturbance, only when the Mayor and Aldermen found that Mr. Sears was inflexibly determined to open his hall to the ladies, and they were therefore compelled to order out a small constabulary force.

8. If they had succeeded, according to their wishes and expectations, in persuading Mr. Sears to close the doors of his hall against Mr. Graham, it would have been another very dangerous precedent, and a complete triumph of Lynch Law, not only on the part of 'gentlemen of property and standing,' but of the impoverished populace.

9. The doctrine so confidently maintained by the Mayor and City Marshal, that Mr. Graham ought not to lecture because there was 'a great excitement,' and the 'public feeling' revolted against him, is as monstrous as it is absurd, and has led to all the riots which have afflicted our land during the last four years. It is the old doctrine of tyrants, that 'might makes right,' and dooms all minorities to an ignominious fate. It nailed to the cross the Son of God, and caused the blood of prophets, apostles and martyrs to flow in torrents; and it calls for the suppression of all attempts to reform mankind, for the plausible reason, that 'the whole world lieth in wickedness,' and see what they would do about the matter. He accordingly went to the Mayor and Aldermen's room, and the following colloquy took place:

"*Mayor.* Do you intend to let your hall to Mr. Graham?"

Answer. I have offered it to the ladies, for a private lecture by Mr. Graham, this afternoon.

Mayor. There is a great excitement in the city against Mr. Graham, and it will not be right for him to lecture, merely because a few individuals wish to be gratified, when the public feeling is so much against him. Your property will most likely be destroyed; for we cannot do any thing to protect it.

10. What ought to be the feelings of every patriotic citizen in view of the fact, that the city authorities privately endeavored to intimidate a humble mechanic from his heroic determination to vindicate the freedom of speech at all hazards, by telling him that they could not protect his property, and that it would in all probability be destroyed, if he disregarded their advice? Men in official stations have been impeached and removed for conduct far less criminal than this.

11. It is very apparent, that the principal reason why was pleaded by the Mayor and his associates, was, first, that Mr. Graham appeared as an advocate of righteousness, and secondly, that it was only the property of a MECHANIC that would be destroyed! If a Bank had been threatened, or the house of the Mayor, or the store of any merchant, by lawless ruffians, the city authorities would have found no difficulty in calling to their aid a sufficient amount of 'omnipotence' to hush the 'whirlwind' to repose. A case in point has just occurred in Troy, New York. When Mr. Weld attempted a lecture in that city, several months ago, on the subject of American slaves, and the responsibilities of northern freemen, his meetings were repeatedly broken up by a series of riots of the most ferocious character,—not which were unashamedly committed by the authorities of the place who were powerless by their hatred of the anti-slavery cause. On Friday last, 'St. Patrick's Day,' a disturbance took place in Troy, between some of the Irish residents and a portion of the native inhabitants—the latter being wholly to blame. In the evening it assumed a somewhat serious aspect, and considerable injury was done to persons and property. The Troy papers add, that the whole body of police, watchmen, and constables, and the Troy Citizens' Corps, were promptly on the ground, headed by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, who soon restored order. The Citizens' corps had been provided with several rounds of ball cartridges—had their muskets loaded with them—and had received orders to proceed to arms should the occasion require. The Mayor and Recorder acted with great decision—were personally in the midst of the disturbances—and in several instances seized and handed over to the watchmen, with their own hands, those who were turbulent, insolent or vicious. What a contrast!

12. A little can raise the whirlwind, but it takes omnipotence to quell it. Your building will probably be torn down.

Mr. Sears. It is said by some, that public opinion is human omnipotence; but when it is going wrong, it should be made right.

Mayor. It will be best for Mr. Graham not to lecture.

Mr. S. Be that as it may, I am ready to risk my property and life, rather than yield to mobocracy. The time has fully come for the citizens to know what to depend upon, as it relates to the city government, when freedom of speech and individual property are at stake. Sir, if the present spirit of mobocracy is allowed to reign with impunity much longer, there is danger that you, with other rich men, will ultimately find that the poor man, who has ears and sinew enough, will say to you, as he asserts under some imaginary grievance, 'Give me your money, or forfeit your life!'

Mayor. Yes—but we must be rational about this matter, and not brave the public opinion!

Mr. S. The ladies shall have the Marlboro' Hotel, for their meeting, if they want it.

Well—we will do what we can to protect you, but we cannot do much. I think I will pass that way myself."

(The above account is from the Liberator.—We subjoin his remarks upon it.)

13. The moral sublimity manifested in the conduct of Mr. Sears, in staking his all in the cause of liberty, at a crisis full of peril, for all his property is vested in the Marlboro' Hotel—and so he was told by the city authorities, that his building (an immense one) would in all probability be torn down—but nothing daunted by the intimation—he virtually sacrificed it on that occasion. 'All that a man hath will he give for his life—but how few there are who will give all that they possess, rather than see another's freedom of speech destroyed by the strong arm of violence!' A mobocracy of Boston has indeed thus nobly—heroically—and a sense of guilt would be exciting a mode of perpetuating the memory of the dead.

2. In contrasting the behaviour of the Mayor and the City Marshal in their interview with Mr. Sears, an impartial reviewer cannot but admire the attitude of the humble mechanic, and despise the craven spirit manifested by his examiners. They should have applauded him for his resolute determination not to yield to the clamors of a mob; and they were bound by their oath of office to main-

tain the peace of the city—above all, not to give any countenance to low and riotous men, either in public or private, either by attempting to intimidate or dishearten the object of mobocratic rage, or by passively conniving at wild misrule.

3. It is a capital crime against the life of liberty, to wink at the doings of those who are plotting to destroy her. For the authorities to counsel Mr. Sears, in the manner above stated, was an act little short of high treason against the rights of the citizens, and the real peace of the city. They have forfeited all claims to public confidence, for granting that their motives were good, and that they erred through timidity rather than from deliberated wilfulness, it is perfectly obvious that they are not qualified to sustain and fulfil the duties of their office.

4. Viewed in connexion with the conversation that ensued, their demand of Mr. Sears, whether it was his intention to permit Mr. Graham to occupy his hall, was an impudent interrogation. He had a right to open his hall, according to his own good will and pleasure, without being subjected to the censure or criticism of the powers that be?

5. That the freedom of speech on a topic of vital importance to the physical and moral well-being of the human race, was not put down by a lawless rabble in the city of Boston, in the year 1837, no thanks to the authorities,—for they undoubtedly wished to destroy that freedom in the case alluded to,—but thanks to a pliant and sturdy mechanic, who would not bow the knee to the Monarch of Jacobinism and the Demon of Lynch Law! How very few persons in this Commonwealth, having no special interest in the master, would have volunteered in defense of a stranger, and put their entire property in imminent peril, and disregarded alike the threats of the mob and the remonstrances of the officers of law, in order to vindicate the right of free discussion, as did WILLIAM SEARS! There was no act of patriotism in the revolutionary struggle equal rights superior to this.

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